

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 239111

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 239111

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EGEN, ECOSOC, WFC, PF, VS, VN

SUBJECT: CONTINGENCY PAPER: QUESTION OF PARTICIPATION  
OF CERTAIN COMMUNIST REGIMES NOT RECOGNIZED  
BY THE US

PROBLEM:

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ONE OR MORE MEMBERS MAY PROPOSE THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE SO-CALLED PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT FOR  
SOUTH VIETNAM (PRG) BE ADMITTED TO THE CONFERENCE AS DELE-  
GATES OR OBSERVERS. ATTEMPTS MAY ALSO BE MADE TO CHALLENGE  
THE CREDENTIALS OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM (RVN) OR THE  
KHMER REPUBLIC (GKR) AND INSTALL THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
PRG OR PRINCE SIHANOUK'S SO-CALLED ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF  
NATIONAL UNION (GRUNK) IN THEIR SEATS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT  
NO FORMAL PROPOSAL WILL BE INTRODUCED ON THESE ISSUES, BUT  
THAT CERTAIN STATES WILL MAKE STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD,  
REGRETTING THE ABSENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF SOME OR ALL  
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OF THESE REGIMES.

PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM (PRG):

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THE PRG IS SIMPLY A NEW FACADE FOR THE LONG-TIME COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM DIRECTED FROM HANOI. IT IS DEVOID OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION, REPRESENTS A SMALL FRACTION OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION, AND DOES NOT HAVE

THE ATTRIBUTES OF A GOVERNMENT. THE U.S. RECOGNIZES THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, A MEMBER OF 12 UN SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, AS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF THAT COUNTRY. PREVENTING THE ENHANCEMENT OF THE PRG'S INTERNATIONAL ROLE AND STATUS IS A PRIME POLITICAL INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

IF A PROPOSAL IS MADE TO ADMIT THE PRG AS A PARTICIPANT OR OBSERVER, YOU SHOULD OPPOSE THIS AND MAKE CLEAR THE US VIEW THAT THE PRG IS NOT A STATE AND THAT THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM IS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM. YOU SHOULD ADD THAT THE PARIS PEACE AGREEMENT HAS NOT ALTERED OUR POSITION IN THIS RESPECT IN ANY WAY. YOU SHOULD NOTIFY THE DEPARTMENT IMMEDIATELY OF ALL DEVELOPMENTS AND CONSULT WITH FRIENDLY DELEGATIONS ON THE BEST MEANS TO DEFEAT PRG ADMISSION BY THE CONFERENCE.

THE U.S. DELEGATION SHOULD ALSO WORK ENERGETICALLY WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS STRONGLY TO OPPOSE ANY CHALLENGE TO RVN CREDENTIALS. ALSO, WHILE ALLOWING THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM TO TAKE THE LEAD IN COUNTERING STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD ATTACKING THE RVN OR REGRETTING THE PRG'S ABSENCE FROM THE CONFERENCE, YOU SHOULD MAKE A STATEMENT STRONGLY SUPPORTING THE RVN. REPORT ALL DEVELOPMENTS TO THE DEPARTMENT IMMEDIATELY.

ECOSOC INVITATION FORMULA:

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ECOSOC RESOLUTION 1840 (IVI) OF MAY 14 INVITED "ALL STATES" TO ATTEND THE FOOD CONFERENCE. A FOOTNOTE FOR THE RECORD, HOWEVER, STATED: "IT IS THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL, CONFIDENTIAL

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IN DISCHARGING HIS FUNCTIONS UNDER THIS RESOLUTION, WILL FOLLOW THE PRACTICE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN IMPLEMENTING AN ALL STATES CLAUSE, AND IN CASES WHEN IT IS ADVISABLE THE SECRETARY GENERAL WILL REQUEST THE OPINION OF THE GA BEFORE TAKING APPROPRIATE DECISIONS."

IT IS THE U.S. UNDERSTANDING THAT THE PRACTICE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN IMPLEMENTING AN ALL STATES CLAUSE IS

TO INVITE "STATES MEMBERS OF THE UN, OF UN SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, OF THE IAEA AND THE ICJ" (VIENNA FORMULA WHICH THE U.S. HAS LONG SUPPORTED) PLUS NORTH VIETNAM. CERTAIN COUNTRIES MAY CONTEND THAT THE PRG IS A STATE AND SHOULD BE INVITED TO ATTEND THE FOOD CONFERENCE. ALTERNATIVELY, THEY MAY DEMAND THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL REQUEST THE GA'S OPINION ON WHETHER OR NOT THE PRG SHOULD BE INVITED.

THE U.S. DELEGATION SHOULD ACTIVELY OPPOSE BOTH PROPOSALS, ON THE GROUND THAT THE PRG IS NOT A STATE.

KHMER CREDENTIALS:

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THE U.S. DOES NOT REGARD PRINCE SIHANOUK'S GRUNK AS HAVING ANY OF THE ATTRIBUTES OF A LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT. THE KHMER REPUBLIC CONTINUES TO CONTROL CAMBODIA'S CAPITAL, URBAN AREAS AND A MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION. THE 28TH UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON DECEMBER 5, 1973 VOTED 53-50 WITH 21 ABSTENTIONS TO DEFER THE ISSUE OF KHMER REPRESENTATION UNTIL THE 29TH UNGA, LEAVING THE KHMER REPUBLIC AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF CAMBODIA. A SUBSEQUENT CREDENTIALS CHALLENGE TO THE GKR WAS DEFEATED IN THE UNGA 55-50 WITH 17 ABSTENTIONS.

THE KHMER CREDENTIALS ISSUE IS ON THE 29TH GA AGENDA AND MAY BE DEBATED IN PLENARY IN MID-NOVEMBER. TO COUNTER THE HOSTILE RESOLUTION CALLING FOR REPLACEMENT OF THE GKR BY GRUNK, ASEAN NATIONS (INDONESIA, MALAYSIA, PHILIPPINES, NEW ZEALAND, THAILAND, SINGAPORE), JAPAN AND OTHERS HAVE PROPOSED A DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH (A) URGES THE TWO CAMBODIAN PARTIES TO HOLD TALKS TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT; (B) REQUESTS MEMBER STATES AND THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL'S ASSISTANCE TO BRING ABOUT THE TALKS; AND (C)  
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DECIDES TO TAKE NO OTHER ACTION UNTIL THE RESULTS OF THESE EFFORTS ARE CONSIDERED BY THE 30TH GA. THE U.S. WHOLE-HEARTEDLY SUPPORTS THIS INITIATIVE BY THE KHMER REPUBLIC'S NEIGHBORS.

THE OUTCOME OF THIS ISSUE, VITALLY IMPORTANT TO THE U.S., TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN CAMBODIA, AND TO THE FUTURE OF THE UN, WILL BE EXTREMELY CLOSE. WE ARE ANXIOUS, THEREFORE, THAT THE FOOD CONFERENCE TAKE NO ACTION WHICH WILL IMPACT HARMFULLY ON THE GA DEBATE. MOREOVER, THE U.S. FEELS STRONGLY THAT CONFERENCE WORK SHOULD NOT BE DISRUPTED TO ENTERTAIN A POLITICAL QUESTION WHICH THE UNGA ITSELF (THE PROPER FORUM FOR SUCH QUESTIONS) WILL CONSIDER SOON. IF THE KHMER REPUBLIC'S CREDENTIALS ARE CHALLENGED, THEREFORE, THE U.S. DELEGATION SHOULD CONSULT WITH THE GKR AND

OTHER FRIENDLY (PARTICULARLY ASIAN) DELEGATIONS ON WAYS  
TO MEET THE CHALLENGE. YOU SHOULD ALLOW THE GKR AND,  
IF POSSIBLE, THE OTHER ASIAN REPRESENTATIVES TO TAKE THE  
LEAD IN OPPOSING THE CHALLENGE AND COUNTERING STATEMENTS  
FOR THE RECORD REGRETTING THE GRUNK'S ABSENCE. YOU SHOULD,  
HOWEVER, GIVE FULL AND ACTIVE SUPPORT TO THESE EFFORTS AND  
REPORT ALL DEVELOPMENTS TO THE DEPARTMENT IMMEDIATELY. INGERSOLL  
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